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APPEAL SOCIALIST CLASSICS
EDITED BY W. J. GHENT

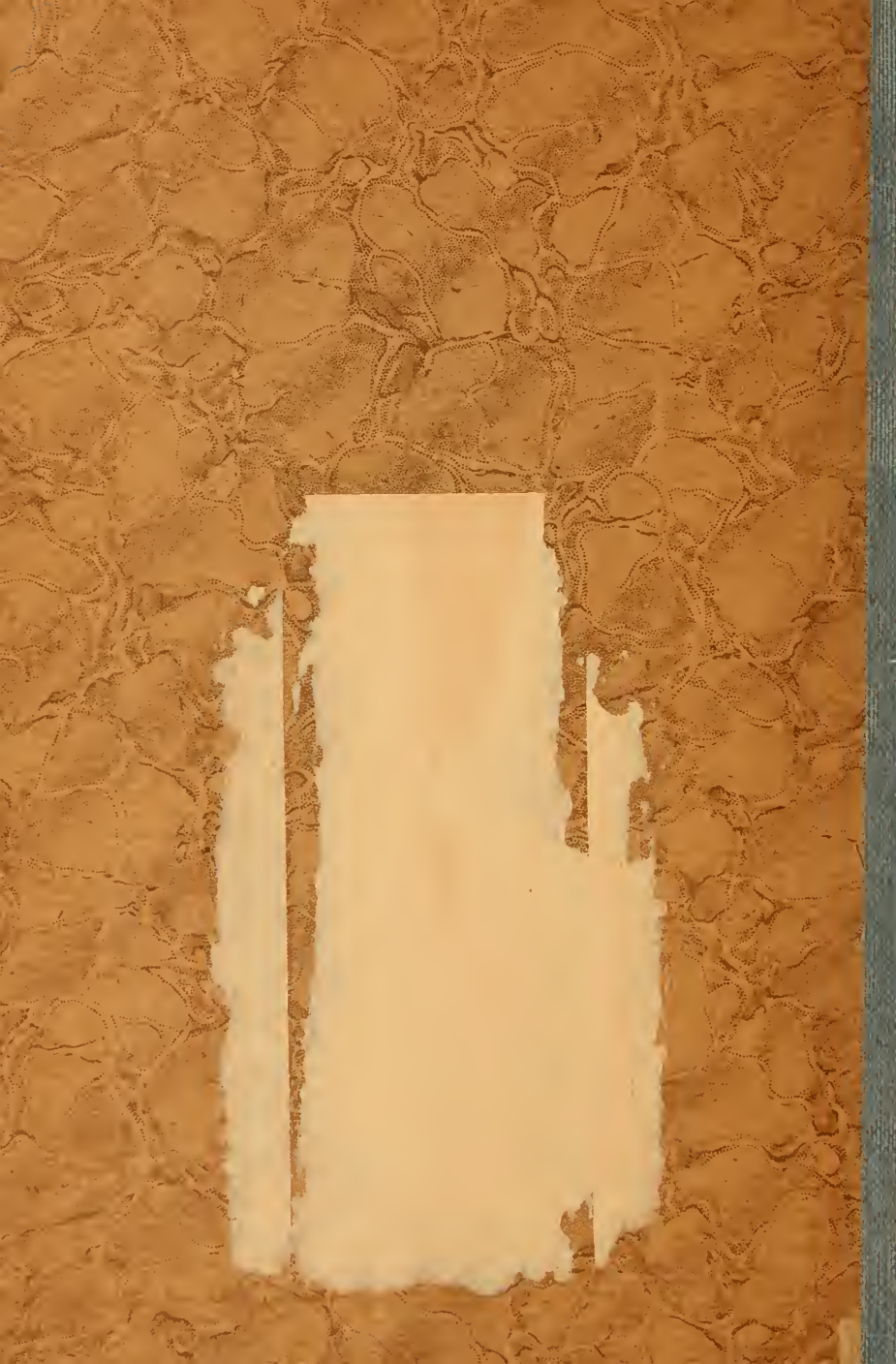
No. 5

Socialism and Government

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APPEAL SOCIALIST CLASSICS

EDITED BY W. J. GHENT

No. 5

Socialism and Government

Working Programs and Records of
Socialists in Office

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APPEAL TO REASON

Girard, Kansas



THE SERIES

The pamphlets in this series are composed, in the main, of selections from the published work of Socialist writers, mostly of the present day. In some of them, particularly "Socialist Documents" and "Socialism and Government," the writings used are mainly of collective, rather than individual authorship; while the Historical Sketch is the composition of the editor.

To the selections given, the editor has added explanatory and connecting paragraphs, welding the fragments into a coherent whole. The aim is the massing together in concise and systematic form, of what has been most clearly and pertinently said, either by individual Socialist writers or by committees speaking for the party as a whole, on all of the main phases of Socialism.

In their finished form they might, with some appropriateness, be termed mosaics: each pamphlet is an arrangement of parts from many sources according to a unitary design. Most of the separate pieces are, however, in the best sense classics: they are expressions of Socialist thought which, by general approval, have won authoritative rank. A classic, according to James Russell Lowell, is of itself "something neither ancient nor modern"; even the most recent writing may be considered classic if, for the mood it depicts or the thought it frames, it unites matter and style into an expression of approved merit.

For the choice of selections the editor is alone responsible. Doubtless for some of the subjects treated another editor would have chosen differently. The difficulty indeed has been in deciding what to omit; for the mass of Socialist literature contains much that may be rightly called classic which obviously could not have been included in these brief volumes.

The pamphlets in the series are as follows:

1. THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIALISM.
2. THE SCIENCE OF SOCIALISM.
3. SOCIALISM: A HISTORICAL SKETCH.
4. SOCIALIST DOCUMENTS.
5. SOCIALISM AND GOVERNMENT.
6. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.
7. SOCIALISM AND ORGANIZED LABOR.
8. SOCIALISM AND THE FARMER.
9. SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM.
10. THE TACTICS OF SOCIALISM.
11. THE SOCIALIST APPEAL.
12. SOCIALISM IN VERSE.

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PREFACE

This pamphlet, from its restricted size, can of course give no more than an outline of what has been accomplished by Socialists in office. There is no space to record in detail the many achievements of the European Socialists, won through long years of steady endeavor. Except, therefore, for two brief summaries regarding the work in other countries, the pamphlet is devoted wholly to the United States. Those who want more extended information regarding the activities of European Socialists may consult Robert Hunter's "Socialists at Work" and Morris Hillquit's "Socialism in Theory and Practice."

The record given is the record of a slow but steady pressure exerted by the working class upon the rulers of present-day society. In its outcome it means the gradual transformation of society into a co-operative commonwealth. For those who can see the attainment of Socialism only by means of a revolutionary cataclysm, there is perhaps no better reminder than the words of Wilhelm Liebknecht:

We are not going to attain Socialism at one bound. The transition is going on all the time, and the important thing for us, in this explanation, is not to paint a picture of the future—which in any case would be useless labor—but to forecast a practical program for the immediate period to formulate and justify measures that shall serve as aids to the new Socialist birth.

W. J. G.

SOCIALISM AND GOVERNMENT

I.

IN EUROPE.

REVIEW OF SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS.

The following concise review of the direct achievements of the Socialist parties in Europe and of the indirect results of their activities appears in Mr. Hillquit's "Socialism in Theory and Practice"* (pp. 190-94):

BY MORRIS HILLQUIT.

The practical political activity of the Socialist parties is, on the whole, of quite recent date. The Social Democrats of Germany entered on their first electoral campaign as far back as 1867, but for almost twenty years they stood practically alone in the field of Socialist politics. Sporadic attempts at electoral campaigns were made by Socialists in Holland beginning in 1880, in Italy in 1882 and in Denmark in 1884; but as well-organized and continuous political parties the Socialists entered the political arena in France in 1885, in Denmark in 1889, in Sweden in 1890, in Italy in 1892, in Spain in 1893, in Belgium in 1894, and finally in Austria, Holland and Norway as late as 1897. In the United States the Socialists nominated their first national ticket in 1892. In some of these countries the Socialists had occasionally engaged in municipal and other minor campaigns somewhat earlier, but on the whole it may be said that the average period of practical and systematic Socialist activity in politics does not exceed twenty years.

This comparatively short space of time has by no means been barren of positive results for the Socialist movement and the working class.

The parliamentary achievements of the Socialist par-

*New York: The Macmillan Company.

ties may be divided into such reforms and measures as are directly traceable to Socialist initiative and such as are the indirect results of Socialist politics.

The reforms of the former class are few and rather insignificant, as must naturally be expected in view of the fact that the Socialists as yet constitute but a small minority in every parliament, and a minority generally hostile to the rest of the house. Moreover, in several European parliaments, notably in the German Diet, a fixed and rather large number of seconders is required before a proposed measure may be considered by the house; and in most of such countries the Socialist parliamentary groups have not been, until recent years, numerous enough to comply with such requirements, so that their activity was of necessity limited to the support or opposition of measures introduced by the government or by other parties.

Summing up the positive achievements of Social Democratic politics in the German Diet, Herman Molkenbuhr claims some direct Socialist victories in all the domains of parliamentary legislation dealing with workingmen's insurance, factory laws, industrial courts, the civil code, protective tariff and taxation. Taking the existing German law on accident insurance as an illustration, he shows, by an elaborate analysis of the origin of its various provisions, that no less than twelve of its most substantial amendments have been adopted on motion of the Social Democratic party, while the party of the center, which habitually poses as the champion of the working class, has only two of such amendments to its credit, the party of the government and the liberal union each one, the other parties having contributed nothing at all to the amelioration of this important law.

In France the Socialist deputies have initiated or secured the passage of several favorable measures, among them laws reducing the hours of labor of government employes, extending the powers of municipalities, suppressing private employment bureaus, and several important

amendments to the accident insurance law. In Denmark the Socialists in parliament have, after persistent efforts of twenty years, recently succeeded in securing the passage of a law which makes it incumbent on the government and municipalities to grant considerable subsidies to labor organizations formed for the support of their unemployed members. In Italy, Belgium and Switzerland the Socialist representatives in parliament have at one time or another succeeded in securing the passage of several measures of social reform, while in Sweden, Norway and Austria the Socialist parties have within recent years secured largely extended suffrage.

Far more important, however, than the laws directly initiated in parliaments by Socialist representatives are those numerous measures of social legislation which have within the last two decades been passed by the parliaments of almost all civilized countries as the indirect but nevertheless legitimate result of Socialist political action. These measures are as a rule taken by the liberal or even conservative parties bodily or with some changes from the programs formulated by the Socialist parties, and are fathered as original proposals of the opponents of Socialism in order to destroy the effectiveness of the Socialist propaganda. Far-seeing statesmen sometimes meet such "issues" with apparent cheerfulness, even before they have acquired the force of popular demands, and shortsighted governments grant them grudgingly when the general cry for them has practically become irresistible. Prince Bismarck, as was pointed out in a previous chapter, frankly avowed that the object of the broad social legislation inaugurated by him was primarily to avert a popular revolution, and the greater part of the social and political reforms inaugurated since by the several parliaments of Europe clearly owe their origin to similar considerations. In those countries of Europe in which the Socialist movement has attained such political strength as to cause alarm to the parties of the dominant classes, the latter regularly shape their policies

with special reference to their probable effect on the Socialist vote, and the "stealing of the Socialist thunder" is one of their favorite maneuvers, especially in time of approaching electoral campaigns. Chancellor Von Buelow has publicly admitted this fact for Germany, and it is more than an accident that the golden era of social legislation in all other countries coincides quite closely with the period of practical Socialist politics; that countries in which political Socialism is weak, as, for instance, the United States, are the most backward in the domain of social legislation, and that the few labor laws occasionally passed by the American state legislatures are so often nullified by court decisions.

NOTES ON SOCIALIST ACTIVITIES.

A fragmentary summary of Socialist activities in certain of the European nations, made up from various sources, appears in the Socialist Campaign Book for 1914:

FRANCE.

In France, Millerand, as the Socialist minister of commerce and industry, in 1899, succeeded in getting passed a law that reduced the hours of labor from 12, 14 and 16 per day to 10 in factories where men, women and children were employed, and in the postal and telegraph departments under his immediate control he instituted the eight-hour day. He secured legal protection for trades unions and extended their functions; created a standing labor committee or council to aid in formulating labor legislation; and instituted a system of free employment bureaus. A good view of these measures is given by Von Vollmar in "Modern Socialism," chapter XI.

The work of Millerand was not satisfactory to the Socialist party on other matters, but there is no question about the value of his work in the line of legislation for the working classes. He placed France at the head in this respect and opened a new era of labor legislation.

ITALY.

By 1901 the movement in Italy had grown so strong that the Zanardelli-Giolitti government depended upon the Socialist vote. With even this much of power, Signor Turati, representing the Socialists, was instrumental in inaugurating a policy which is said to have changed the face of Italian legislation ("Recent Social Legislation in Italy," *Econ. Jour.*, Sept., 1903, p. 430). Among the measures enacted may be mentioned: (1) Weekly payment of wages; (2) rigid regulations for the safety and sanitary condition of working places; (3) one-day rest in seven; (4) all wages to be paid in coin—not in bills of credit, scrip or other devices; (5) employes to be entitled to pay during periods of sickness under certain conditions, and (6) a good child labor law—better than the present laws in most of our states in America.

In addition to this, the most progressive measures were passed providing for the municipalization of all the usual utilities—light, water, gas, street car service, telephone, etc., and besides many unique features. Among them may be mentioned municipal pharmacies, both for the general sale of drugs and for gratuitous distribution to the poor where necessary, much as is proposed by most municipal platforms of the Socialists. Model bakeries are provided for, expressly to prevent the rise in the price of bread. And, most unusual of all, the cities are to be allowed to establish a public service to conduct funerals gratuitously for the poor.

The fact that the legislation of Italy has been so decidedly influenced by the Socialists while they are only a minority party shows how profoundly and how constructively Socialism will affect the conditions when given full power.

ENGLAND.

In England recently Socialism seems to have assumed a new and rather unique phase. In 1900 a federation

was formed, made up of trade unions, trade councils, the Independent Labor party (Socialist), the Fabian society (Socialist), and co-operative societies. This federation was naturally and logically socialistic in its entire make-up. As a result the power of Socialism was at once tremendously increased in England. (The Labor party now has 39 representatives in parliament, the most of them Socialists.)

The manifesto which these representatives offered at the opening of their parliamentary work sets forth in strong, unmistakable terms the constructive program they propose to follow. They say: "A party in Parliament can be held together, kept vital only by a policy—not by vague aspirations and foggy ideas—but by a policy. A policy implies more than a desire to attain definite legislation. It implies strategy, criticism, initiative and opposition. These, to be effective, must be based upon some principle, either of attack or of defense, or both. Labor today is essentially aggressive. The object of its hostility is capitalistic monopoly in all its forms, the winning for those who work of every penny which now goes into the pockets of those who idle."

Following the usual method, these Socialists have attacked the capitalistic system on several different lines: (1) They have introduced measures for a vast extension of public improvements in order to give work to the great numbers of unemployed. Slums are to be cleared away, model dwellings to be built, land cleared and prepared for use and waste places reforested. (2) Poor relief must at once be enormously increased. They quote acknowledged authorities to show that 5,000,000 men, women and children are living in England at or below the poverty line. A minimum of relief is to be guaranteed to these. (3) Old age pensions are to be established and extended. (4) The agricultural system of the country is to be developed in order to open opportunities for labor—a system of agricultural education and lectures established; communities empowered to buy lands and lease them to small

holders to make advances of stock, seeds, etc., on reasonable terms—in short, to do all that can be done to open agricultural life and resources to the people. (5) The liquor traffic is to be socialized. This question is attacked with the same directness and vigor as all the others. “The drink trade,” they say, “is too profitable and too perilous to be left to the heedless greed of private enterprise.” (6) And, finally, in answer to the question which is frantically raised by the capitalists as to where the money is coming from for all this extravagant policy, they are just as definite, frank and direct. “The only possible policy is to deliberately tax the rich, especially those who live on wealth which they do not earn. For thus, and thus only, can we reduce the burden of the poor.” (“The Socialist Program,” *Atlantic*, vol. 98, 651-7.)

BELGIUM.

In Belgium we have perhaps the most striking and instructive form of constructive Socialist organization of all. The characteristic feature here is the co-ordination of all the various forces of labor. Here more successfully than in any nation at the present time the Socialists have organized and synthesized the power of the working class.

In America we have a strong trades union movement. But it lacks the power that comes with aggressive, independent political action. The political arm is weak. It is only beginning to be developed. In Germany, in indeed nearly all of the European countries, we have the trades union movement working together with the Socialist party as its political expression. This greatly strengthens the labor position. But in Belgium we have added to all of this the organization and co-ordination also of the economic or purchasing power of the working class. The Socialists of this country have organized one of the best and most successful co-operative movements in the world. They have built vast co-operative stores, halls, restaurants, cafes—true “temples of the people,” as they are called.

They handle millions in volume of business; they save millions to the working class; they employ thousands of workers at good wages; they turn over vast sums to the Socialist party; they house the labor unions and furnish them funds when on strike or out of work and give their members an old-age pension. Unquestionably the Belgian Socialists have built up the most effective and powerful constructive working class organization in the world. ("Modern Socialism," Chap. XX, an address of E. Anseele, founder of the "Voruit" of Ghent, Belgium, to the Socialists of France; one of the most remarkable utterances upon this form of Socialist organization. Also "Social Unrest," Chap. XI.)

OTHER COUNTRIES.

In Denmark the Socialist group in Parliament are making a hard fight to reduce the age required before one can vote from thirty to twenty-one years. It is a fight for universal suffrage.*

In Finland they have secured the passage of a new school law making elementary education compulsory, high schools free, food and clothes free to all public school pupils in need of them. They secured also an old-age pension law, and a provision that special students shall be sent to foreign countries to study social, economic and labor conditions. (*New York Worker*, Jan. 4, 1908.)

*On June 5, 1915, the new constitutional law extending the suffrage was signed by King Christian, to become operative in a year's time. It increases the franchise and institutes woman suffrage. It lowers the age for voting for the Folkething (Lower House) from 30 to 25 in the course of five years. It will then mean universal suffrage for all men and women of 25 years and over.

At present the Folkething consists of 114 members, representing the same number of constituencies. The Folkething receives an addition of 26 members elected proportionally. The old complicated voting for the Landsting, or Upper House, is abolished. The new Landsting consists of 72 members; 54 to be elected on an indirect system of proportional representation, and 18 to be chosen by the old Landsting before its dissolution. The King ceases to appoint members to the Upper House.

Women are eligible to vote and sit in both houses.

II.

IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

Though the Socialist party has been entitled, by reason of the number of votes polled, to representation in each Congress since and including that elected in 1900, it has so far elected but two representatives. Its vote of 901,062 in November, 1912, entitled it to twenty-six representatives, but the crude and fraudulent system of representation which now prevails totally excluded the party from a share in the membership of Congress.

The first Socialist elected was Victor L. Berger, from the Fifth district of Wisconsin, in 1910. The second was Meyer London, elected from the Twelfth district of New York, in 1914, and re-elected in 1916.

Berger took his seat at the convening of the special session of the Sixty-second Congress on April 4, 1911. The following summary of his work was prepared in the summer of 1912 and has been printed in the Socialist Campaign Book for 1912 and 1914:

RECORD OF VICTOR L. BERGER.

In judging the work of Congressman Berger, the fact that he was only one member out of a total of 394 in the house of representatives, should be considered.

And this was not the only limitation by any means. There were not only 393 representatives against him, there were 96 senators also absolutely opposed to him on all vital and economic questions.

It was practically five hundred against one. For while there are a few representatives in the house of representatives who are trades unionists and are supposed to be representatives of the working class, yet in their voting, their arguments and in their way of thinking, they differ in no way from the representatives of the old capitalistic parties.

I. LABOR MEASURES.

1. *Resolution to Investigate the Lawrence Strike Situation.*—In the latter part of 1911 and the early part of

1912 there occurred among the textile workers in Lawrence, Mass., a most serious and remarkable strike. When the appalling conditions, the starvation wages, the brutal treatment of men, women and little children and the wanton killing of a woman by the police and militia became known to Congressman Berger, he at once took the matter up in congress. He introduced a resolution to have a commission investigate "The Relations of the American Woolen Company to the Strike of Its Operatives at Lawrence, Mass."

The resolution was referred to the committee on rules and before this committee hearings were held that in themselves served as an investigation. They brought out in an official way the condition in Lawrence. The hearings were published in File 464 of a special report known as Document No. 671, on "The Strike at Lawrence, Mass."

It is doubtful whether when the facts brought out by this investigation shall have had their full effects there has ever been a more effective effort in awakening the conscience of our nation.

For half a century our protective tariff politicians have urged a high tariff on the ground of its alleged benefits to labor. Here is the man to put their proposition to a final test. And he did it in the case of the woolen industries in such a way as to leave not an iota of doubt or question remaining. . . .

The facts brought out by the investigation of the appalling conditions of the textile workers at Lawrence, and further facts presented by Congressman Berger in his speeches and debates on the various tariff measures, served to rip the mask off this monstrous hypocrisy of our government's policy and leave it completely exposed.

He said frankly, "I am no free trader. I hold that under the present capitalist system of industry a sudden and violent reduction of tariff schedules would in almost every case be disastrous to the workers.

"Here is a case, however, where one of the most highly

protected industries in America, which begs its tariff protection from congress on the ground of benefiting the wage earners, deliberately forces down wages to the starvation point." And on that ground he maintained his stand for reduction of the tariff, especially on the highly protected industries, while not advocating immediate free trade.

2. *Eight-Hour Day for All Labor Employed on Government Contract Work.*

3. *A General Old Age Pension Bill.*—The fact that many of the progressive countries already have some such legislation as this tended to greatly strengthen Mr. Berger's position. The introduction of the bill started a widespread and mostly favorable discussion of the whole subject.

4. *The Right of Postal Employes of Government to Organize and Petition Congress.*—The public must be the model employer. A government in the control of capitalistic interests might take over public utilities, suppress the right of organization, free speech and petition and thus become the most tyrannous of labor oppressions. This tendency has manifested itself already on the public railways in foreign countries where the right of the workers to organize and strike has been violently suppressed. And as a matter of fact these rights are being denied here in America.

They must be maintained at all hazards. They are vital to the cause of labor and fundamental to the purpose of Socialism.

5. *A Bill to Protect the Women Wage Workers in the District of Columbia.*—This provides for an eight-hour day, for one day's rest in each week, prohibiting the employment of girls under eighteen years of age before seven in the morning or after six at night.

6. *Protest Against Starvation Wages.*—In a speech in the house, January 14, 1912, Mr. Berger denounced the democratic appropriation bill for the District of Columbia because of the extremely low wages provided for some of

the public employes. Some were getting as low as \$240 a year.

A similar protest was made in a speech on March 4, 1912, against the low wages paid to the employes in the department of agriculture.

7. *For Better Conditions for the Workers.*—In the bill introduced by Mr. Berger for a new postoffice building at Waukesha, Wis., the spirit of the Socialist legislation is again illustrated. Careful provision was made in the drafting of the bill for the comfort, health and convenience of the workers.

Other measures providing for the comfort and convenience of the workers were introduced. An amendment to pending legislation was introduced by Mr. Berger on May 1, 1912, to permit postal employes to use stools for at least two hours a day. And the amendment came near carrying. The vote stood 35 for to 55 against.

Mr. Berger's effort to secure relief for the mail carriers from their hot and heavy uniforms in summer was even more successful. In this case he took the matter up directly with the postoffice department, and secured a modification of the hitherto strict orders.

8. *Providing an Automatic Reward for Faithful Service.*—On April 19, 1912, Mr. Berger introduced an amendment providing for the automatic promotion of all postal employes from the \$1,100 grade to the \$1,200 grade. This amendment also came very near to success, the vote being 33 for to 45 against.

9. *The One Day's Rest in Seven.*—Besides other labor measures in which one day's rest in seven was sought for the employes in the District of Columbia, Mr. Berger took up the matter of providing a six-day week for all government employes. The matter came up in connection with an investigation which Berger made, revealing the fact that many of the employes, especially in the treasury department, were compelled to work seven days in the week.

10. *Helping in Labor Troubles and Disputes.*—One of the first things Mr. Berger did was to introduce a resolution demanding an investigation of the McNamara case. He also introduced a bill to prevent kidnaping of labor officials.

11. *To Solve the Problem of the Unemployed.*—The features of Congressman Berger's bill are as follows: (a) The United States government is to issue and loan money to county, city and town governments, enabling them to inaugurate public improvements. (b) These loans are to pay interest at one-half per cent per annum, and shall be redeemed in twenty equal annual installments. (c) Loans to be secured by special bonds issued by the local governments. (d) Upon this basis the secretary of the treasury shall issue a special currency to be known as "Public Improvement Notes" to be loaned to the local governments. Each year the secretary shall withdraw from circulation and destroy an amount of this currency equal to the value of the bonds redeemed. (e) And finally the bill provided that the work undertaken under these loans shall be carried out with an eight-hour work day and at not less than the prevailing union rate of wages.

II. THE TRUST PROBLEM—THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION.

The Socialist solution of the trust problem is outlined in the bill presented in congress by Mr. Berger on December 4, 1911.

The plan proposes that whenever any corporation or combination reaches a point where it controls forty per cent of the output or service in its line, then it shall be acquired, owned and operated by the United States government for the benefit of the whole people.

In this connection special mention should be made of Congressman Berger's bill for the government ownership of the railroads, telephone, telegraph and express companies.

III. THE REAL DEMOCRACY.

There are five features in the Socialist program upon this point: (1) Direct legislation including the recall;

(2) the abolition of the United States senate; (3) limitation of the power of the supreme court; (4) universal adult (including woman's) suffrage and (5) a national constitutional convention.

A moment's consideration on the part of any student of our forms of government will show that each of these steps constitutes an essential part of the struggle for democracy. None can be omitted. All should be co-ordinated. And this is exactly what the Socialist does.

1. *Direct Legislation.*—The initiative, referendum and the recall are today pretty popular ideas among the people.

But most people do not know that these ideas in their modern concrete form originated with the Socialist movement and have not only been preached but practiced by the Socialists and the workers in their organizations for half a century.

So when Congressman Berger introduced in the United States congress an amendment to the constitution providing for the introduction of the broad principle of direct legislation into the federal system of government, he was only completing in concrete form the universal program of Socialism for the establishment of political democracy.

2. *Abolish the United States Senate.*—Any number of studies of the history of the United States senate as well as all the bitter experiences of recent years establishes the fact that the United States senate not only serves no purpose in the direction of democracy, but is actually a hindrance to democracy—a "check," as it is called.

Our reformers have been trying to remedy this by having the senators elected directly by the people. However, this so-called remedy is only superficial. Abolish the senate.

3. *Limit the Power of the Supreme Court.*—Socialist Congressman Berger has pointed out the way.

When he introduced his bill for old age pensions he appended a section as follows: "That in accordance with section a, article 3, of the constitution, and the precedent established by the act of congress passed over the president's veto, March 27, 1868, the exercise of jurisdiction by any of the federal courts upon the validity of this act is hereby expressly forbidden."

The precedent referred to was a case relative to certain of the reconstruction laws which grew out of the civil war. The supreme court had in that case been expressly prohibited from passing upon the validity of the acts. The supreme court itself held unanimously at that time the prohibition was valid and declined to pass on the constitutionality of the laws in question.

Thus an entirely new principle is established. The power of the supreme court to annul legislation exists only so long as congress consents to or permits it.

The remedy is simply for congress to expressly prohibit it.

4. *Woman Suffrage.*—Socialists the world over have always felt that there could be no such thing as democracy where one-half of the adult population are denied the ballot. As a matter of course, therefore, they have always fought for the ballot for woman.

In accord with this general position of the Socialist movement Congressman Berger presented in congress a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage. This he later backed up by a monster petition, probably the largest petition ever presented to congress, signed by 109,582 individuals and by organizations representing approximately 7,500 more—a total of 116,582.

5. *A National Convention.*—As a final means of correcting quickly the many defects of our present national constitution and thus making progress more easy and effective, it is also proposed that a national constitutional convention be called.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS MEASURES.

1. *The Municipal Government of Washington, D. C.*—Mr. Berger was made a member of the committee to investigate misrule and mismanagement of the local administration of Washington. The result of the investigation that followed was a number of measures intended to improve the condition of the city industrially as well as in a civic way.

2. *The Case of Judge Hanford.*—Another matter that called forth the aggressive action of Congressman Berger was the case of the misconduct of Federal Judge Hanford of Seattle, Wash.

Immediately upon hearing of his official misconduct Congressman Berger demanded his impeachment and removal. He charged the judge with an unlawful usurpation of power in annulling the naturalization papers of one Leonard Oleson on the frivolous charge that he was a Socialist; with rendering corrupt decisions; with habitual drunkenness and with issuing fraudulent injunctions.

That these charges were well founded was shown by subsequent events. The judge resigned in an evident attempt to escape impeachment.

V. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PEACE.

Among the first duties of Congressman Berger was the presentation of a resolution asking the president of the United States to withdraw the troops from the Mexican border. Another measure was a resolution to terminate the treaty of 1887 between the United States and Russia.

In a carefully prepared statement given out to the press Mr. Berger showed how the Socialist movement in foreign countries had already prevented several wars and how, as their power increased, they would soon be in a position to prevent and certainly would prevent all wars of mere capitalistic aggression.

There are two terrific forces that the Socialists will use—the power of their representatives in the parliaments

of the various nations, already numerous enough in many countries to hold the balance of power, and the power of the organized workers of a nation using the weapons of the general strike.

BERGER'S FURTHER SERVICE.

Other bills, introduced at the subsequent session, provided for an investigation of the garment workers' strike in New York; for the taking over of the New York, New Haven and Hartford railway, for an investigation of the censorship exercised by the Postoffice Department and for a condemnation and seizure of the railroads in case of a strike by the locomotive firemen. A later summary of his work, published in the *National Socialist* of April 12, 1913, included the following paragraphs:

BY LOUIS KOPELIN.

On a few of his bills Berger secured a hearing before the house committees. These hearings were given much publicity and often accomplished the same end desired by a full investigation. This is particularly true of the hearing before the house committee on rules on Berger's resolution to investigate the Lawrence strike. It is now generally conceded that the publicity given to the strike and the fear of the wool barons in regard to the protective tariff forced an immediate settlement of that protracted struggle.

The impeachment of Hanford was followed by an investigation by a special committee. During the height of that investigation, Hanford resigned. Berger alone was responsible for the impeachment of Hanford.

The Socialist congressman never failed to vote for really progressive and labor measures whenever they came up for passage. He also appeared before house committees and made speeches urging them to report favorably progressive bills and report unfavorably reactionary measures.

Probably the strongest feature of Berger's work was his participating in the consideration of legislation pending before the house. He seldom missed an opportunity to pre-

sent to the house and to the country the Socialist position on important questions of the day. He made speeches on the conditions of labor, governmental issues, as well as giving to the house occasional lectures on Socialism and arguments in favor of his own measures. More than three million copies of Berger's speeches were circulated throughout the land under his frank.

In addition to his work in the house, Berger used his influence as a congressman before the federal departments whenever the interests of labor and humanity demanded. On five occasions Berger interceded in behalf of political refugees who were detained at Ellis Island threatened with deportation. In each case Berger succeeded in getting them admitted into this country.

Employes of federal departments knew Berger as their champion, for he never rested until he adjusted their grievances in their favor. In several instances Berger succeeded in securing pardons for persons who were unjustly sentenced to prison.

RECORD OF MEYER LONDON.

BY LUCIEN SAINT.

For two years the Socialist party and the working class of the United States have been represented in the House of Representatives by one man—Meyer London, of the Twelfth New York district. London during this period has been the minority party of the lower chamber. His was the one voice heard against the voting of funds for the famous "Get Villa" expedition into Mexico. He voted against the big preparedness program, along with a few timid pacifists and members who wanted a still larger program of defense. He always voted and raised his voice for labor in those halls where labor's voice is rarely if ever heard.

"Alone in Congress" might be the title of a book by Meyer London, for he has worked with little help from even the so-called "labor group" in the House. Yet he has not been alone, for outside the walls of Congress were hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, whom he really represented, and who stood behind him, giving him moral support and power.

London's bare record shows two years of hard activity. During his term he has held membership in three committees—Labor, Mines and Expenditures in the Department of Labor.

He spoke in debate some thirty times, and answered to eighty-four roll calls.

Here is the barest summary of the record:

URGES CONFERENCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS.

Introduced Dec. 6, 1915, House Joint Resolution, calling upon the President to call a conference of neutral nations to offer mediation to the warring powers, and outlining principles on which a durable peace should be based.

Took this resolution up with President Wilson, in company with Hillquit and Maurer of the Socialist National Executive Committee on January 24.

Conducted hearings on it, February 23 and 24, before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Twenty national organizations sent spokesmen to the hearing to support it.

Secured its introduction in the Senate by Senator Lane of Oregon.

WORKS FOR NATIONAL INSURANCE FUND.

Introduced, February 19, 1916, House Joint Resolution 159, "For the appointment of a commission to prepare and recommend a plan for the establishment of a national insurance fund, and for the mitigation of the evil of unemployment." Social insurance plan.

Conducted hearing on this measure May 6 and May 11, before the House Committee on Labor.

Secured approval of Labor Committee for a modified form of this measure, which he reported on behalf of the committee as H. J. Res. 250 on July 1, 1916. Provides for a Commission on Social Insurance, to investigate and recommend to Congress as to a national fund for old age pensions, sickness insurance and unemployment insurance.

VOTES AGAINST INVASION OF MEXICO.

Made speeches, introduced and defended amendments to bills, and voted in Committee of the Whole and in the House, against all phases of military and naval expansion program.

Voted alone against the appropriation for the expedition into Mexico.

Cast one of the two votes registered against drafting the National Guard for service on or beyond the Mexican border.

Cast the only anti-militarist vote against the Hay military bill. Prevented, as a result of this fact, the agreement of the House to the proposal of 250,000 men for the regular army, adopted in the Senate.

Spoke and voted for immediate independence for the Philippines.

Made, almost single-handed, the fight against disfranchisement of 165,000 workers in Porto Rico. As a result, the Senate committee recommended that this disfranchisement be postponed for ten years.

Made only speech of the session to House urging direct government development and operation of hydro-electric power.

Voted for government armor-plant and nitrate-plant amendments to the navy and army bills respectively, but voted against bills as a whole.

Spoke and voted for child labor bill, and offered amendment to workmen's compensation bill to make it cover occupational diseases.

Spoke and voted for income and inheritance tax provisions of the revenue bill. Spoke and voted against retaining tariff on sugar. Urged federal taxation of unearned increment of land values.

Spoke and voted against Borland "rider," increasing the hours of labor of 30,000 government clerks in the District of Columbia.

Spoke and voted against stop-watch "efficiency" systems in government shops. Supported Nolan \$3 minimum wage bill for government employes.

Spoke and voted against literacy test in immigration bill.

Urged President Wilson to use his influence with European governments to secure civil rights for Jews.

Voted for government-owned and government-operated shipping lines.

Took up with the several administrative departments during the year, the defense of the right of registration of voters in Oklahoma, of free speech in Ohio, of free political expression in the Mare Island Navy Yard, of residence of Japanese radicals in Seattle and San Francisco when threatened with abduction to Japan, etc.

PERSONAL REPORTS TO CONSTITUENTS.

Delivered personal reports to his constituents in New York City at intervals, explaining the work of Congress.

Circulated printed speeches on "Preparedness," "Child Labor," "National Honor," "Increased Military Establishment," "The Villa Expedition," "United States Commission on Industrial Relations," "Immigration," and "Social Insurance."

Introduced and defended resolution declaring that Congress would not approve war begun in defense of right of Americans to travel on armed merchantmen of the belligerents.

III.

IN THE STATE LEGISLATURES.

SOCIALIST LEGISLATORS.

As has been the case with the National Congress, so also with the State legislative bodies, the Socialists have never had the representation to which their vote entitled them. Nevertheless, they have won some representation from the beginning, except in the election of 1903, and since 1908 it has been greatly increased.

The following list gives the names of all Socialist State legislators elected from the formation in 1898 of the Social Democratic party (which in 1901 united with the Rochester faction of the Socialist Labor party to form the Socialist party) to 1915 inclusive. Most legislators are elected biennially. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island, however, they are elected annually, while in Wisconsin and Nevada representatives are elected biennially and senators quadrennially.

The dates given in the sub-headings are in each case the year or years of service; the election was in the previous year:

1899—Two Members.

Massachusetts—

James F. Carey, Haverhill.
Louis M. Scates, Haverhill.

1900—Two Members.

Massachusetts—

James F. Carey, Haverhill.
Frederic O. MacCartney, Rockland.

1901—Two Members.

Massachusetts—

James F. Carey, Haverhill.
Frederic O. MacCartney, Rockland.

1902—Three Members.

Massachusetts—

James F. Carey, Haverhill.
Frederic O. MacCartney, Rockland.
W. S. Ransden, Brockton.

1903—Two Members.

Massachusetts—

James F. Carey, Haverhill.
Frederic O. MacCartney, Rockland (died in office).

1905-6—Eight Members.

Florida—

A. J. Pettigrew, Manatee county.

Illinois—

Joseph Ambrose, Chicago.

Andrew Olson, Chicago.

Wisconsin (all from Milwaukee)—

Jacob Rummel (Senator).

W. J. Aldridge.

E. J. Berner.

Fred Brockhausen.

August Strehlow.

1907-08—Six Members.

Wisconsin (all from Milwaukee)—

Jacob Rummel (Senator) elected in 1904.

W. J. Aldridge.

E. J. Berner.

Fred Brockhausen.

Carl D. Thompson.

Frank J. Weber.

1909-10—Five Members.

Massachusetts—

Chas. H. Morrill, Haverhill (elected in 1908 and 1909)

Wisconsin (all from Milwaukee)—

Winfield R. Gaylord (Senator).

E. J. Berner.

Fred Brockhausen.

Frank J. Weber.

1911-12—Twenty Members.

Massachusetts—

Chas. H. Morrill, Haverhill (elected in 1910 and 1911).

Minnesota—

Nels S. Hillman, Two Harbors.

New York—

Herbert M. Merrill, Schenectady.

North Dakota—

Wesley Fassett, Dunseith.

Pennsylvania—

James H. Maurer, Reading.

Rhode Island—

James P. Reid, Olneyville (elected in 1911).

Wisconsin (all from Milwaukee)—

Winfield R. Gaylord (Senator, elected 1908).

Gabriel Zophy (Senator).

E. J. Berner.

Max Binner.
Fred Brockhausen.
W. J. Gilboy.
Jacob Hahn.
Arthur Kahn.
Michael Katzban.
E. H. Kiefer.
George Klenzendorf.
F. B. Metcalfe.
J. H. Vint.
Frank J. Weber.

1913-14—**Twenty-one Members.**

California—

C. W. Kingsley, Los Angeles.

Illinois (all from Chicago)—

H. W. Harris.

C. M. Madsen.

Joseph M. Mason.

Seymour Stedman.

Kansas—

Fred W. Stanton (Senator), Mulberry.

Everett Miller, Scammon.

Ben F. Wilson, Girard.

Massachusetts—

Chas. H. Morrill, Haverhill (elected in 1912 and 1919).

Minnesota—

Nels S. Hillman, Two Harbors.

Montana—

Charles H. Conner, Eureka.

Nevada—

Martin J. Scanlan (Senator), Tonopah.

I. F. Davis, Tonopah.

Washington—

W. H. Kingery, Shelton.

Wisconsin (all from Milwaukee)—

Gabriel Zophy (Senator, elected in 1910).

Martin Gorecki.

E. H. Kiefer.

Carl Minkley.

William L. Smith.

J. H. Vint.

E. H. Zinn.

(The total is 21. Stanton, however, was ousted by the Kansas Senate, for solely partisan reasons, after the courts had affirmed his election. Harris, of Illinois, after serving most of his term, lost his seat on a recount of the votes, while Davis, of Nevada, was expelled from the party for voting against its mandates.)

1915-16—Thirty-one Members.

- California—
George W. Downing, Los Angeles.
L. A. Spengler, Los Angeles.
- Idaho—
E. W. Bowman (Senator), Council, Adams County.
- Illinois—
C. M. Madsen, Chicago.
Joseph M. Mason, Chicago.
- Kansas—
George D. Brewer, Girard.
- Massachusetts—
Chas. H. Morrill, Haverhill (elected in 1914 and 1915).
- Minnesota—
A. O. Devold, Minneapolis.
J. W. Woodfill, Two Harbors.
- Montana—
Leslie A. Bechtel, Silver Bow County.
Alexander Mackel, Silver Bow County.
- New Mexico—
W. C. Tharp, Clovis, Curry County.
- Nevada—
M. J. Scanlan (Senator, elected in 1912), Tonopah.
C. A. Steele, Yerington.
- Oklahoma—
G. E. Wilson (Senator), Cestos.
S. W. Hill, Roll.
C. H. Ingham, Ringwood.
D. S. Kirkpatrick, Seiling.
T. H. McLemore, Elk City.
N. D. Pritchett, Snyder.
- Pennsylvania—
James H. Maurer, Reading.
- Utah—
J. Alexander Bevan, Tooele.
- Wisconsin (all from Milwaukee)—
Louis A. Arnold (Senator).
H. O. Kent.
F. B. Metcalfe.
Carl Minkley.
William L. Smith.
George Tews.
J. H. Vint.
Frank J. Weber.
E. H. Zinn.

SOCIALIST STATE PROGRAM.

The Socialist National Convention, held at Indianapolis, May 10-16, 1912, unanimously approved the following outline of a State program, presented by a committee composed of Carl D. Thompson, Chairman; Anna A. Maley, John C. Kennedy, Thos. M. Todd, W. W. Farmer, Geo. W. Downing, Marguerite Prevey, Ernest Berger and R. E. Dooley:

PREAMBLE.

Socialism cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist party is a minority party. Nor can it be inaugurated in any single city. Furthermore, so long as national and state legislatures and particularly the courts are in control of the capitalist class, a municipal administration, even though absolutely controlled by Socialists, will be hampered, crippled and restricted in every way possible.

We maintain that the evils of the present system will be removed only when the working class wholly abolish private ownership in the social means of production, collectively assume the management of the industries and operate them for use and not for profit, for the benefit of all and not for the enrichment of a privileged class. In this the Socialist party stands alone in the political field.

But the Socialist party also believes that the evils of the modern system may be materially relieved and their final disappearance may be hastened by the introduction of social, political and economic measures which have the effect of bettering the lives, strengthening the position of the workers and curbing the power and domination of the capitalists.

The Socialist party therefore supports the struggles of the working class against the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist class, and is vitally concerned in the efficiency of the parliamentary and administrative means for the fighting of the class struggle.

I. LABOR LEGISLATION.

1. An eight-hour day, trades union scale and minimum wage for both sexes.
2. Legalization of the right to strike, picket and boycott.

3. Abolition of the injunction as a means of breaking strikes and the establishment of trial by jury in all labor disputes.

4. Prohibition of the use of the military and the police power to break strikes.

5. Prohibition of the employment of private detective agencies and police forces in labor disputes.

6. The repeal of all military law which surrenders the power of the governor over the militia to the federal authorities.

7. Requirement that in time of labor disputes advertisements for help published by employers shall contain notice of the fact that such labor dispute exists. Provision to be made for the prosecution of persons who shall employ workers without informing them that such labor trouble exists.

8. Prohibition of employment of children under the age of sixteen, compulsory education, and the pensioning of widows with minor children where such provision is necessary.

9. The organization of state employment agencies and rigid control of private agencies.

10. Suitable safeguards and sanitary regulations in all occupations with ample provision for frequent and effective inspection of places of employment, machinery and appliances.

11. Old age pensions, sick benefits and accident insurance to be established.

12. Workingmen's compensation laws to be carefully drawn to protect labor.

II.

Home rule for cities.

III. PUBLIC EDUCATION.

1. Compulsory education of both sexes up to the age of sixteen years with adequate provision for further courses where desired.

2. Establishment of vocational and continuation schools and manual training for both sexes.

3. Free text books for teachers and pupils; uniform text books on all subjects to be furnished free to public schools.

4. Physical training through systematic courses of gymnastics and open air exercises. Open air schools and playgrounds.

IV. TAXATION.

1. A graduated income tax; wages and salaries up to \$2,000 to be exempt.

2. Graduated inheritance tax.

3. All land held for speculation and all land not occupied or used by the owners to be taxed up to full rental value.

V. PUBLIC WORKS AND CONSERVATION.

1. For the purpose of developing and preserving the natural resources of the state and offering additional opportunities of labor to the unemployed, the states shall undertake a comprehensive system of public works, such as the building of roads, canals, and the reclamation and irrigation of land. All forests, mineral lands, water ways and natural resources now owned by the states to be conserved and kept for public use.

2. The contract system shall be abolished in all public works, such work to be done by the state directly, all labor to be employed not more than eight hours per day at trade union wages and under the best possible working conditions.

VI. LEGISLATION.

1. The legislature of the state to consist of one house of representatives.

2. The initiative, referendum and recall to be enacted.

VII. EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

1. Unrestricted political rights for men and women.

2. Resident qualification for all elections not to exceed 90 days.

3. The right to vote, not to be contingent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or labor.

VIII. AGRICULTURE.

1. Extension of the state agricultural and experimental farms for crop culture, for the distribution of improved seeds, for the development of fertilizers, for the design and introduction of the best types of farm machinery, and for the encouragement of the breeding of superior types of stock.

2. All land owned by the state to be retained, and other land brought into public ownership and use by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise; such land to be organized into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.

3. Landlords to assess their own land, the state reserving the right to purchase such lands at the assessed value.

4. State insurance against pestilence, disease of animals and plants and against natural calamities.

IX. DEFECTIVES AND DELINQUENTS.

1. The present unscientific and brutal method of treating criminal persons, defectives and delinquents to be replaced by

modern scientific and humane methods. This to include the abolition of all death penalties, of the prison contract system, of isolated confinement. Penal institutions to be located in rural localities with adequate healthful open air employment and humane treatment.

THE RECORD, 1907-1913.

No detailed study of the earlier work of Socialists in office has been made. The excellent review prepared by Ethelwyn Mills and published (1914) as a pamphlet by the National Office under the title, "Legislative Program of the Socialist Party," gives detailed information regarding the work done in the sessions of 1913 and a summary, with particular reference to the record of the Wisconsin Socialists, of the 895 Socialist measures introduced (of which 141 were passed) in the various legislatures between 1907 and 1913, inclusive. Of the previous period it says: "It has been impossible to gather complete data on the work of the early representatives of the party in the various states, but copies of the bills they introduced and such records as we can discover show that they stood for the usual Socialist measures, such as the initiative and referendum, woman suffrage, etc., for improvement of labor conditions, for public ownership of public utilities and other measures leading toward the Socialist goal."

A National Office leaflet published in 1914 summarizes the review mentioned above. Many of the paragraphs relate to measures passed in more than one state.

Unfortunately, the names of the states in which these measures were enacted into law are specified in only about half the cases.

BY CARL D. THOMPSON.

The Socialists in the state legislatures of this country have accomplished three things:

First—They have actually succeeded in putting into the statute books of the various states some 141 different laws.

Second—They have been indirectly instrumental and assisted in putting on many more.

Third—They have prepared with great care and completeness the definite, concrete legislative measures that make up the Socialist program.

Thus the specific measures by which the principles of

Socialism may be applied have been reduced to the cold letter of the law and deposited in the official records of a dozen different states and, we may add, in congress of the United States as well.

TWENTY-ONE SOCIALISTS IN NINE STATE LEGISLATURES.

Last winter (1913) there were 21 Socialists in nine different state legislatures.

That's a good start, isn't it? We had seven in Wisconsin, four in Illinois, three in Kansas, two in Nevada and one each in California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana and Washington.

In fact, the Socialists have had here and there representatives in the state legislatures since 1899.

In judging of their work and the possibilities in this direction, we must remember that in every case the Socialists were in a hopeless minority—one against 100, or maybe three against 150. And yet they have put things through.

You really could not expect one or two lone Socialists in a state legislature of 150 men to accomplish very much. Especially as the rest of the 150 are for the most part steeped and pickled in capitalism and owned, body and soul, by the monopolies and trusts, or else so uninformed on economic questions as to be easy tools of the capitalist politicians.

Yet, in spite of all that, these Socialists accomplished something. They got things through—and it is no small record of actual achievement.

ONE HUNDRED FORTY-ONE SUCCESSFUL SOCIALIST MEASURES.

Of course, we do not claim all the credit for passing these laws. None of them could have been passed without the votes of others than Socialists—it is true. But these measures, advanced and urged and pushed through by the Socialists, show the practical and constructive nature of the Socialist movement.

The following are the bills introduced by Socialists

and passed by the state legislatures of one or the other of the states in which the Socialists had representatives, viz: California, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, Washington and Wisconsin:

I. LABOR MEASURES.

1. Eight-hour day on public contract work (Wisconsin).
2. Ten-hour law for women, 55 hours per week; and in night work not more than eight hours, nor more than 48 hours per week.
3. Better protection on dangerous machinery in factories.
4. Requiring blowers on all emery wheels used in metal polishing trades.
5. Full-crew bill, requiring railways to furnish sufficient men on all trains to adequately handle the work (Wisconsin).
6. Bath houses for miners (Kansas).
7. Requiring employers, in advertising for workmen in time of strike, to mention the fact of the strike being on in their advertisements (Minnesota and Wisconsin).
8. Better protection of health and safety of miners (Kansas).
9. Regulating sale and delivery of black powder to miners (Kansas).
10. Workmen's compensation act.
11. Protection of workmen in the construction of buildings (Minnesota).
12. Better ventilation in factories.
13. Eight-hour day on public contracts (Wisconsin).
14. Making false statement in securing employes a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment (Minnesota).
15. Licensing of stationary engineers in the interests of public safety, as well as workmen.
16. Factory doors must be unlocked during working hours.
17. Requiring employers to install and maintain safety devices.
18. Improved conditions of children working in street trades, as newsboys, etc.
19. Requiring safety appliances on corn shredders, which have been particularly deadly to farm labor.
20. Requiring the keeping of records of injuries to employes.
21. Prohibiting overcrowding of factories and requiring certain safety appliances.
22. Child labor—several measures improving conditions.
23. Prohibiting the use of injunctions in the case of labor troubles (Wisconsin).

24. Defining tuberculosis as a communicable disease so as to bring it within the statistics of the state health department, tuberculosis being regarded by the Socialists as an occupational disease; this measure opens the way for an adequate compensation law (Montana).

25. Requiring employers to reduce the number of hours of labor of children between 14 and 16, in proportion to the number of hours spent in attendance at continuation schools, where such exist.

26. Sunday closing of stores (except groceries and meat markets), releasing clerks and other employes from Sunday drudgery.

II. POLITICAL MEASURES.

1. Partial initiative and referendum; joint resolution calling for constitutional amendment empowering legislature to voluntarily submit measures for popular approval.

2. Initiative and referendum in municipalities.

3. Recall of elected officials in municipalities.

4. Resolution passed by the state assembly of Illinois expressing sympathy for the Belgian suffrage strike.

5. Making election day a half holiday.

III. MUNICIPAL MEASURES.

1. Home rule for cities. Several measures passed. Measure similar to that drawn by Socialists passed in Illinois.

2. Excess condemnation; granting cities the right to buy and sell real estate in excess of that required for immediate public purposes (Wisconsin).

3. Giving cities the right to build ice plants.

4. Providing for the appointment of a city forester.

5. Giving cities the right to erect comfort stations.

6. Providing for the abatement of the smoke nuisance.

7. Giving cities the right to build repair docks.

IV. EDUCATIONAL MEASURES.

1. School lunches, giving cities the right to provide (Massachusetts).

2. Compulsory attendance at schools (Nevada).

3. Minimum wage for teachers (Wisconsin).

4. Free night schools (Kansas).

5. Compulsory education of illiterate minors (Wisconsin).

V. JUDICIAL MEASURES.

A number of measures making the securing of justice through the courts cheaper and easier for the workingmen.

1. Raising the amount of damages that may be awarded in cases of employes killed by accident from \$5,000 to \$10,000 (Wisconsin).

2. Eliminating the requirement of security bond in case of damage suit against cities.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Mothers' pension law, passed in a modified form (Massachusetts).

2. Provision for better care of neglected children in Nevada.

3. Old age pensions were approved by measures passed in Kansas and Wisconsin. In the former state it was a memorial addressed to Congress and in the latter it provides for an investigation of the subject.

4. State life insurance. Wisconsin is now in the life insurance business.

5. Taxation. Twelve bills were introduced and passed in Wisconsin readjusting the basis of taxation to the full valuation.

6. Pensions for the blind.

7. A law providing for the proper organization and conduct of co-operative enterprises.

8. Public ownership of railways; a measure introduced by the Socialists in the Minnesota legislature, authorizing Cook county, of that state, to build a railway.

9. Loans to farmers; a joint resolution passed in the Wisconsin legislature petitioning Congress to permit loans to farmers of 30 per cent of the postal savings deposits.

10. Resolution urging government ownership of coal mines (passed Massachusetts House).

THE SESSIONS OF 1915.

No summary has yet been made of the work of the Socialist members in the legislative sessions of 1915. The following notes of the work done in several of the legislatures are made up from articles published in the *APPEAL TO REASON*, *American Socialist* and *California Social-Democrat*. The note regarding Senator Bowman of Idaho is condensed from a brief article published in *Pearson's Magazine* for July, 1915:

OKLAHOMA.

The one Socialist senator and five representatives in the Oklahoma legislature took an active part in the legislative work, but although they aided in defeating several

measures, they were not successful in passing any of their own. Among the more important measures introduced by them were the following:

House bill providing for the renting of state land to landless farmers, rent to cease when total amount paid equals value of land; right of continuous occupancy to be vested in tenant or heirs conditioned on their continued occupancy; title to land to remain vested in the state; title to improvements vested in occupant.

House bill providing for the state to engage in the insurance business.

House bill requiring the payment of one thousand dollars to the dependent or dependents of any person legally executed within the state.

House resolution memorializing Congress to relieve the condition of the unemployed.

House bill providing the state ownership of the banking business.

House joint resolution initiating constitutional amendment granting women right of suffrage.

House joint resolution initiating constitutional amendment repealing veto power of the governor.

House joint resolution initiating constitutional amendment denying supreme court power to declare unconstitutional laws adopted by the people under initiative and referendum.

House joint resolution initiating constitutional amendment reducing mileage for members of legislature to actual traveling expenses.

House joint resolution initiating constitutional amendment abolishing power of legislature to amend or repeal any law adopted by the people under initiative and referendum.

House joint resolution initiating constitutional amendment abolishing the Senate.

CALIFORNIA.

The two Socialist members, George W. Downing and Lewis A. Spengler, both of Los Angeles, of the California assembly, introduced forty-seven measures, of which seventeen were brought to a vote and four passed. Five resolutions and one bill passed the assembly but were defeated in the senate. Eight bills more or less similar to those introduced by the Socialists were also enacted into law.

Of the four successful measures, one amended the

exemption laws so as to include the materials of a workman, and another amended the election laws so as to permit a citizen moving from one precinct to another in the same county and within three days of an election to vote in his former precinct. The unsuccessful measures covered a wide range of labor and social reforms in accord with the Socialist platform. Both representatives made highly creditable records for arduous and conscientious devotion to duty.

NEVADA.

On the request of the committee of the railroad brotherhoods Senator M. J. Scanlan was made a member of the committee on labor. He resubmitted the bills, a list of which is given below, which he had introduced two years before. The second of these became a law, while the third, seventh, eleventh and fifteenth passed the senate but were defeated in the assembly:

1. Increasing compensation for accidents from 50 per cent to 60 per cent. Reducing waiting period from 14 days to two days. Providing for free medical treatment.
2. Providing for semi-monthly pay-day.
3. Compelling mine inspector to post notice of condition of mine.
4. Providing for safety of employes working on high-power electric lines.
5. Providing for redemption of property under tax sales in two years.
6. Abolishing capital punishment.
7. Prohibiting inaccurate meters or charging more than the actual amount consumed of water, gas, or electricity.
8. Providing for universal eight-hour day.
9. Entitling poor persons to carry cases in court without putting up costs.
10. Enabling persons without means to carry cases to Supreme Court.
11. Requiring mines to be ventilated so as to keep temperature below 85 degrees.
12. Repeal of all poll-tax laws.
13. Prohibiting the employment of armed men by private persons or corporations.

14. Fixing maximum of six hours' work in mines where temperature exceeds 85 degrees.
15. Appropriating fund to enable Board of Pardons to investigate cases of public interest.
16. Repealing poll-tax section of constitution.
17. Repealing veto power of the Governor.

IDAHO.

The one Socialist member of the Idaho legislature, Senator Earl Wayland Bowman, succeeded in forcing the passage of an employment act of the utmost importance. It is known as the "Emergency Employment Law," and ordains that the county commissioners must provide work for those who seek it. The applicant must be a citizen (male or female, with six months' residence in the state), must have been in the county for ninety days and must not be the possessor of more than \$1,000 worth of negotiable property. On his making oath that he cannot obtain other employment, the county commissioners must employ him, either on road work or other useful service to the county, for a period of not more than sixty days in any fiscal year.

One who refuses to do the work assigned him or her is suspended from the privileges of the law for one week; on a second refusal the suspension is for one year. The expense of the law is borne half and half by the county and the state. The act became effective on May 1, 1915.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Representative James H. Maurer, who is serving his second (though not continuous) term, was kept busy in combatting the many measures put forward by the reaction, which is now in almost supreme control in that state. He was successful in obtaining the defeat by a large majority of a bill to increase the state constabulary; of two bills pressed by the Merchants' Association for the garnishment of workingmen's wages, and of attempts on the part of the Manufacturers' Association to mutilate the child labor and workmen's compensation laws. He was further successful

in obtaining the passage of a law requiring fifty additional factory inspectors. Including several measures which he induced others to introduce for him, he submitted sixteen important bills and four resolutions. Most of these were defeated or buried, but he was able to incorporate, by amendments, certain parts of them in other bills which became laws.

MONTANA.

Representatives Alexander Mackel and Leslie Bechtel, both of Butte, were the only Socialist members of the Montana legislature. None of their bills were successful, according to a summary of their work published in the *APPEAL TO REASON*, but they aided in defeating several vicious corporation measures. Their own bills were defeated or buried in committee. Measures to prevent the employment of gunmen, the coercion of union men and similar defensive labor measures were introduced without success, and the Socialists finally decided to center their efforts on defeating bills proposed by reactionary representatives.

Two bills instigated by the corporations and defeated by the Socialist representatives were one permitting physicians to testify concerning injuries to workingmen without the consent of the patients, and one requiring a workingman suing a corporation for damages to make public his contract with his attorney. It is at present illegal for a Montana physician to testify regarding the condition of a patient unless he first obtains his patient's consent; this inconveniences the corporations in their work of sidetracking justice, as injured workmen are generally taken to the company hospital for treatment and the perjured testimony of the company doctor, if the present law were repealed, might be used to evade damage claims. The second bill, proposing to make workingmen publish their attorney's contract when suing corporations, was designed to prejudice these suits in the eyes of claim juries. Both

bills, if passed, would have rendered it more difficult for injured workmen to collect commensurate compensation from corporations.

OTHER STATES.

In Utah Representative J. Alex. Bevan, the only Socialist member, devoted most of his time in successfully opposing vicious measures—particularly a bill restoring a ten-hour work day in certain classes of mines and a bill making it a fine and jail sentence to trespass on railroad property. In Illinois Representatives Madsen and Mason, both serving their second terms, continued their active and highly creditable service for the workers. In spite of the reactionary element in control, both the Socialists have good committee assignments. Madsen has been for both terms a member of the important committee on industrial affairs and is also on the committee on education, while Mason is on the committee on charities and corrections.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES.

BY ETHELWYN MILLS.

As noted above, the Socialists have succeeded in securing the passage of 141 different state legislative measures. This much must be definitely credited to the direct party efforts. But in addition to that there are numerous measures whose passage is unquestionably due to the persistent agitation of the Socialists in the legislative bodies, and more particularly to the menace of their steadily growing vote and increasing number of representatives elected. This indirect influence, it is, of course, impossible to estimate. That it is great and increasing is evident. It constitutes one of the important elements in the power of the Socialist party. Bismarck in Germany frankly admitted that a very large part of the progressive social legislation of his country was due directly to the growing power of the Socialist movement.

Such concessions are often sops thrown out by the capitalistic and reform movements in politics in a vain effort to stop the onrush of Socialism. They are a constant testimony to the strength of the Socialist party, and evidence that its policies are obtaining recognition.

If, with such hopeless minorities in legislative bodies as the party has so far had, such results follow, then the faith of the Socialist party in the future possibilities of this work is in every way justified. If, as in Wisconsin, a half dozen or a dozen Socialists in the state legislature of 133 members come out of a session with 67 successful measures to their credit; if 41 Socialists, serving in all 68 terms, in the 48 legislatures of the United States, have 141 successful measures to their credit; if, as in California, the development of the Socialist party and the crystallizing of Socialist sentiment is followed by the passage of a half-hundred more or less important labor and Socialistic measures—then surely the future of the Socialist movement is secure.

It has only to maintain the steady growth that has characterized it every year since the beginning, and two inevitable results will follow: First, the opposing forces in capitalism will be compelled to grant or permit increasing concessions, until they cannot concede more without giving up the citadel to the Socialists; and in that process, Socialism is certain to gain at every step of the way. Second, with the growth of the party, its number of representatives in legislative bodies will increase, until at length the power of Socialism cannot longer be met with a policy of concession or compromise, and the final issue will be drawn. The capitalist politicians, lawmakers and all, will be forced into the open fight against the common cause of the people. From that point on it cannot be far to the final conflict where Socialism and the Socialists will hold the commanding power in the legislative bodies, to pass their measures on roll call by sheer count of ayes and noes.*

*"The Legislative Program of the Socialist Party."

IV.

IN THE MUNICIPALITIES.**SOCIALIST MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.**

The national convention of 1912 adopted the following program for towns and cities prepared by the same committee that formulated the state program. As with the state program, it was passed, not as a mandatory rule of action, but as an advisory list of suggestions—"a basis," in the committee's words, "for the activities of Socialist members of state legislatures and local administrations":

I.

LABOR MEASURES.

(1) Eight-hour day, trade union wages and conditions in all public employment and on all contract work done for the city.

(2) Old age pensions, accident insurance and sick benefits to be provided for all public employes.

(3) Special laws for the protection of men, women and children in mercantile, domestic and industrial pursuits.

(4) Abolition of child labor.

(5) Police not to be used to break strikes.

(6) Rigid inspection of factories by local authorities for the improvement of sanitary conditions, lighting, ventilating, heating and the like. Safety appliances required in all cases to protect the worker against dangerous machinery.

(7) Free employment bureaus to be established in the cities to work in co-operation with state bureaus. Abolition of contract system and direct employment by the city on all public work.

(8) Free legal advice.

(9) The provision of work for the unemployed by the erection of model dwellings for workingmen; the paving and improvement of streets and alleys and the extension and improvement of parks and playgrounds.

II.

HOME RULE.

(1) Home rule for cities; including the right of the city to own and operate any and all public utilities; to engage in com-

mercial enterprises of any and all kinds; the right of excess condemnation, both within and outside the city, and the right of two or more cities to co-operate in the ownership and management of public utilities; the city to have the right of issuing bonds for these purposes up to 50 per cent of the assessed valuation or the right to issue mortgage certificates against the property acquired, said certificates not to count against the bonded indebtedness of the city.

III.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

(1) The city to acquire as rapidly as possible, own and operate its public utilities, especially street car systems, light, heat and power plants, docks, wharves, etc.

Among the things which may be owned and operated by the city to advantage are slaughter houses, bakeries, milk depots, coal and wood yards, ice plants, undertaking establishments and crematories.

On all public works, eight-hour day, trade union wages and progressive improvement in the condition of labor to be established and maintained.

IV.

CITY PLATTING, PLANNING AND HOUSING.

(1) The introduction of scientific city planning to provide for the development of cities along the most sanitary, economic and attractive lines.

(2) The city to secure the ownership of land, to plat the same as to provide for plenty of open space and to erect model dwellings thereon to be rented by the municipality at cost.

(3) Transportation facilities to be maintained with special reference to the prevention of overcrowding in unsanitary tenements and the creation of slum districts.

V.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

- (1) Inspection of food.
- (2) Sanitary inspection.
- (3) Extension of hospital and free medical treatment.
- (4) Child warfare department, to combat death rate prevailing, especially in working class sections.
- (5) Special attention to eradication of tuberculosis and other contagious diseases.
- (6) System of street toilets and public comfort stations.

(7) Adequate system of public baths, parks, playgrounds and gymnasiums.

VI.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

(1) Adequate number of teachers so that classes may not be too large.

(2) Retirement fund for teachers.

(3) Adequate school buildings to be provided and maintained.

(4) Ample playgrounds with instructors in charge.

(5) Free text books and equipment.

(6) Penny lunches, and where necessary, free meals and clothing.

(7) Medical inspection, including free service in the care of eyes, ears, throat, teeth and general health where necessary to insure mental efficiency in the educational work, and special inspection to protect the schools from contagion.

(8) Baths and gymnasiums in each school.

(9) Establishment of vacation schools and adequate night schools for adults.

(10) All school buildings to be open or available for the citizens of their respective communities, at any and all times and for any purpose desired by the citizens, so long as such use does not interfere with the regular school work. All schools to serve as centers for social, civic and recreational purposes.

VII.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND VICE.

(1) Socialization of the liquor traffic; the city to offer as substitute for the social features of the saloon, opportunities for recreation and amusement, under wholesome conditions.

(2) Abolition of the restricted vice districts.

VIII.

MUNICIPAL MARKETS.

Municipal markets to be established where it is found that by this means a reduction may be secured in the cost of the necessities of life.

SOCIALIST RECORDS IN OFFICE.

From its origin the Socialist party won scattered representation in the counties, townships and municipalities, but not until 1911 did the number of elected officials assume considerable proportions. In the spring of 1910 the Socialists made an almost complete sweep in Milwaukee. In the following fall and in the spring and fall of 1911 they scored a number of remarkable successes. By the beginning of 1912 they had elected 1,039 officials. Reaction and combinations against the party reduced this number to 667 in 1913. It is now (summer, 1915) very much less.

During their administration of the cities the Socialists gave everywhere an unparalleled example of good government. The testimony of all fair-minded observers on this matter is unanimous. "The Socialists in Milwaukee and Butte," wrote Prof. John Graham Brooks, "are giving these cities the best, the cleanest and most satisfactory administrations in their history, and are repairing the damage wrought by years of the old graft machine." Prof. Charles Zueblin has given similar testimony. "I am one of those," he wrote, "who believe that—and everyone in Milwaukee knows that—the Socialists have given the best administration Milwaukee ever had. No more honest body of men have ever been in public office in America."

Nevertheless, by fraud and misrepresentation and by combinations of elements of "respectability" with the exploiting and criminal elements in the various municipalities, most of the Socialist administrations have for the time been overthrown. Perhaps honest government—government by and for the common people—is as yet too unfamiliar to the American public to be readily acceptable, and thus this transition from a government of graft and fraud was found to be too sudden and abrupt. A further period of education in the need for civic honesty and efficiency must precede the return of the Socialist administrations to power.

The achievements of the Socialists in office were summarized in a pamphlet issued by the national office in the fall of 1913:

SUMMARY OF WORK DONE.

BY CARL D. THOMPSON.

Socialism is no longer a mere theory in this country. It has been put to the test.

There are today (September, 1913) Socialist mayors in no less than 34 cities in the United States; more than 250 Socialist aldermen; 106 other municipal officers, including

attorneys, treasurers, comptrollers, auditors, trustees, assessors, etc.

In none of these cities have the Socialists been in complete control. Everywhere they have been hampered, restricted and obstructed by minorities, by state laws, by court injunctions. Yet they have made a record. And it is a remarkable record.

If you have read nothing but the capitalist newspapers, you have been told that these Socialist administrations are a dismal failure.

But you want the facts. And the facts are quite different. They are written in the official records of the cities where the Socialists have been in office. There they are, black on white. No dodging them. No denying them.

And we propose to give you a few of these facts—just a few of the more important ones. We give you the facts, and you can judge for yourself whether the Socialists have made good.

First Fact. The Socialists Have Given the Cities Absolutely Honest Administrations.—Whatever else has been said against the Socialists and Socialist administrations, everybody admits that they have been honest. No graft, no boodle, no thievery—absolutely honest.

That means a great deal in this country, where every city government is a cesspool of political corruption. Shortly before the Socialists went into office in Milwaukee, there were 254 indictments against republican and democratic officials for grafting, bribery, horse-stealing and petty larceny. And there were 23 convictions. There has not been a single case of that sort against the Socialists.

The Socialists put the grafter out of business. In Butte they made the city treasurer turn over \$6,000 of interest on city deposits which had formerly gone into the treasurer's pocket. In Schenectady they knocked the graft out of the street paving business, and reduced the cost to the city from \$2.16 per square yard to \$1.15. In Milwaukee they did the

same trick and saved the city over a quarter of a million dollars on this item alone.

And so everywhere the Socialists have given the cities honest administrations.

That is what you want in your city—an honest administration. You get it from the Socialists. You don't get it from anywhere else. Neither the republican nor the democratic party has given American cities honest administrations. They have been on the job for fifty years, both of them, and matters have grown steadily worse all the time. Neither will a combination of the corrupt elements in both old parties give you an honest administration—not even if they drop their old names and call themselves non-partisans or citizens.

So that is one thing that everybody has to give the Socialists credit for. But, after all, that is the very least of what the Socialists themselves expect. Honesty, however important, is not enough. They must be efficient; they must be able to handle the problems. Have the Socialists been efficient?

Second Fact. The Socialists Have Given the Cities Efficient Administrations.—In the matter of business methods, the Socialists were the first to officially introduce modern, up-to-date office and business methods in municipal affairs. The Socialists hadn't been in office a single hour in Milwaukee before they reorganized the department of public works; they introduced a scientific budget and inventory of the city's property, and a method of accounting for every item of property in the different departments. The purchasing department established by the Socialists saved 30 per cent on the city's purchases in Schenectady and \$40,000 in Milwaukee in a single year.

These are simply business methods—efficiency and economy. And that's what you want.

Moreover, the Socialists have fully demonstrated their ability to handle the other problems of the city. They paved more streets, cleaned up more alleys, built more

school houses, collected more taxes from the tax-dodgers, exacted more service from the private street car companies, gas light and power monopolies than the other parties ever tried to do.

These are all matters of public record—black on white. If you have any doubts or want any details and facts, our information department in the national office will gladly supply you.

Third Fact. The Socialists Greatly Improved Labor Conditions in Their Cities.—In O'Fallon, Ill., they raised the wages of the city employes more than 15 per cent. In Milwaukee they raised the wages of 580 of the common laborers from \$1.75 to \$2.00 per day. In Schenectady they did even better, raising the wages to \$2.25. In Naugatuck, Conn., they established the eight-hour day. This was done in practically every city where the Socialists had any considerable number of representatives. Everywhere the Socialists demand the union label on all city printing and insist on union-made goods. In Milwaukee they raised the wages of library and museum employes; settled the garment workers' strike peacefully and to the advantage of the workers. Mayor Seidel ordered the chief of police not to interfere with the rights of the working girls, and Socialist City Attorney Hoan refused to prosecute the strikers on false and illegal grounds. So they won.

In St. Mary's, Ohio, the Socialists reduced the hours from twelve to eight; raised the firemen's wages from \$50 to \$60 per month, and other municipal employes proportionately.

In Haverhill, Mass., as far back as 1898, the Socialists introduced the principle of direct employment of labor by the city on all public work, as far as possible. This extends all the benefits of better labor conditions to more of the workers—establishes the eight-hour day and raises the wages to the trade union standard.

Schenectady Socialists raised the wages of the teachers. In Milwaukee they secured extra "offs" for the police,

arranged to allow the unemployed and homeless to sleep in the parks and made a persistent effort to get the city to buy land and build homes to be rented to the workers at cost. And perhaps most important of all, a rigid factory inspection was inaugurated by the health department. Factory inspection by Socialists is quite different from just ordinary factory inspection. The Socialists' inspection got results right off. Inside of a few months 55 improved ventilation systems were installed to supply fresh air to the workers while at their tasks in the working places. Eighteen suction hoods to draw away gas, smoke and acid fumes were put in operation. Fifty-four new toilets installed, 9 repaired, 30 privy vaults abolished, 65 emery wheels were protected, 50 bakeries were changed and improvements effected in 133 sweatshops.

Everywhere swift and aggressive action in improving labor conditions.

Fourth Fact. The Socialists Improved the Public Health of the Cities.—To this the Socialists always give special attention. The results in a single city are as follows: Four hundred and eight fewer cases of scarlet fever the first year; 324 fewer cases of diphtheria, 1,044 of typhoid, 1,293 of measles, 131 of tuberculosis, etc.; rigid inspection of foods inaugurated; smoke abatement pressed; a new isolation hospital opened; a child welfare department and a special anti-tuberculosis campaign inaugurated.

Fifth Fact. The Socialists Improved the Financial Condition of the Cities.—It is often claimed that Socialists would bankrupt a city and ruin its credit. As a matter of fact, the records show that without exception the financial conditions of the cities were never so good as while the Socialists were in power. The bonds of the city of Milwaukee sold at several points better under the Socialists than ever before.

In Butte the Socialists found the city about \$1,000,000 in debt, and put it on a sound basis; in Milwaukee they found the city with a \$216,000 deficit and left it with a sub-

stantial surplus. In Berkeley the surplus was \$48,000 more at the end of the first term than when the Socialists took hold.

Moreover, the Socialists make the corporations pay their taxes. In Schenectady they boosted the assessments of the big fellows \$3,600,000; in Anaconda the Socialist assessor raised the assessment of the Amalgamated Copper company from six millions to sixteen millions and doubled the assessments on the railroads.

Sixth Fact. The Socialists Exacted the Best Possible Service from the Corporations.—Haverhill Socialists forced the gas company to reduce the price of gas from \$1.40 per thousand feet to 80 cents. They also started the fight that compelled the railways to elevate their tracks. In St. Mary's they readjusted the water rates and reduced the electric light rates from 9 cents per k. w. to 7 cents. The Milwaukee Socialists compelled the street car company to sprinkle the streets, to pave and repair them between their tracks, forced a cross-town service, compelled the company to install airbrakes and lifting jacks. They forced the reduction of the charges for electricity, compelled the steam railroads to do their share of street paving, and carried through the fight for track elevation and depression.

In contrast to the old party administrations that barter away the people's rights in wanton franchise grants, the Socialists have carefully protected every right of the people, and especially of labor, in their franchises, providing ultimately for municipal ownership.

Seventh Fact. The Socialists Developed Public Education.—They built five new modern, up-to-date school houses in Schenectady, raised the wages of the teachers, furnished free text-books and school supplies, established a dental clinic.

In Milwaukee the Socialists drew upon the state university and a staff of specialists and experts from other states to conduct a bureau of efficiency and economy for the city; installed a university extension department in the city

hall; published numerous educational bulletins on health and other subjects of public interest; conducted lectures on civic and social matters in the council chamber of the city hall, and finally conducted a whole week's budget exhibit of exposition for the education of the people in the work of the city. In Naugatuck, Conn., the Socialists raised wages of both teachers and school employes and started a campaign for teacher's pensions.

Eighth Fact. The Socialists Developed Public Recreation and Amusement Facilities.—The public school buildings have been opened and made social and civic centers for lectures, clubs, reading rooms, socials and dances. Band concerts are conducted in the parks in summer and indoor concerts in winter—all free or with a nominal charge. Parks and playgrounds have been increased, public baths and recreation centers developed. Milwaukee conducted municipal dances, and an old-time beer garden was purchased by the city and turned into a public park with a children's playground. A branch of the public library was added, and today the books of child story and song are passed out over the bar where formerly the beer was handed out.

Such are a few of the actual achievements of the Socialists in the cities where they have been in office.

What Schenectady or Butte or Berkeley or Milwaukee can do any other city can do.

And if through the work of Socialists in the city council the price of water and gas and electricity is reduced, by the same means you may reduce the price of bread and coal and rent and all the other necessities now sold at monopoly prices by the trusts. That will help solve the high cost of living.

And if through the work of a few Socialists in a city council you can raise wages, shorten hours and improve conditions of labor, by the same means you can force the fight into state and national matters and solve the labor problem.

Beat the monopoly and the trust in the city now, and by and by you can beat them in the state and the nation.

Help the Socialists to give the city an honest and efficient administration, and by and by you will have an honest administration in the state and nation.

Thus Socialism offers the people of the city the only opportunity to work and to fight for a real solution of the problems that torment the people.

SUMMARIES BY LEADING CITIES.

Milwaukee.

The Socialist officials in Milwaukee adopted a comprehensive and sweeping policy of reforms in every department of civic activity. A full treatment of the subject may be found in the Campaign Book published in 1912 and revised and republished in 1914. There is space here for a record only of those measures directly bearing on labor. The summary was made by Carl D. Thompson:

1. Raised the wages of all the city laborers from \$1.75 per day to \$2 per day, and thus fixed the minimum scale.
2. Established the trade union scale of wages for all skilled employes of the city.
3. Established the eight-hour work day by ordinance for all public employes, whether working for the city or by contractors employed by the city.
4. Union labor employed exclusively in all departments wherever mechanics are employed.
5. Raised the wages of 132 employes on the Sixteenth street viaduct to the union scale.
6. Helped to settle the garment workers' strike.
7. Secured the union label on every piece of public printing.
8. Passed an engineers' license ordinance, for which the engineers' union had been fighting for twenty years. This ordinance forces every engineer to pass an examination, thereby elevating the conditions of the engineer and protecting the lives of thousands of working men and women against careless and incompetent workmen.
9. Passed an ordinance licensing every elevator operator in the city. This ordinance forces every operator to pass an examination, thereby elevating the conditions of the operator and protecting the lives of thousands of patrons of elevators every day against careless and incompetent workmen.

10. Under the county administration the Grand avenue viaduct was built by union labor.

11. Through the influence of the Socialist members of the county board of supervisors the new county agricultural school will be built by union labor in its entirety.

12. Through the influence of the city purchasing department the H. H. West and Siekert & Baum printing and bindery establishments were organized.

13. All horseshoeing done only in union shops by order of the department of public works.

14. Secured an addition of two days' "offs" for the policemen each month.

15. The new police and fire alarm posts are now being cast in a union shop and will bear the label of the Molders' International Union. And, incidentally, the posts cost \$10 apiece less than the next lowest bid of a non-union shop—thus saving the taxpayers \$3,000 on the 600 posts and giving us the union label besides.

16. Wherever possible, this administration has done the work of repair, remodeling and building by direct employment, employing union labor.

17. All sprinkling wagons are now repaired and painted directly by the city by union labor, and for the first time in the history of the city they bear the union label.

18. All street refuse cans bear the label of the Sheet Metal Workers' and Painters' International Unions.

19. Every bridgetender in the city, numbering eighty-eight, organized, and where they formerly worked 72 hours to a shift, the majority are now employed on a twelve-hour shift, and all will be placed on a twelve-hour shift as soon as possible. An attempt was made to increase the wages, but this was defeated by the minority, republicans and democrats to a man voting to kill the increase. By a parliamentary trick they succeeded in laying the matter over for two weeks, thereby defeating the increase.

20. Every fireman, engineer, oiler, coal passer and helper in the city and county buildings now belongs to his respective union. Every man is now carrying a union card. And, besides, the men now have one day off in seven, something never before enjoyed, as they formerly worked seven days per week.

21. The C. F. Conway company of Chicago bid on the asphalt street paving and was the successful bidder, but the administration was informed that this firm was fighting union labor in Chicago for the past three years. The administration succeeded in persuading this firm to yield to union demands and organized its men, not only in Milwaukee, but also in Chicago,

thereby materially assisting the engineers and other trades in the street paving industry.

22. All elevator operators working for the city and county have been organized into a union known as Elevator Operators' Union No. 13803 and affiliated with the Federated Trades Council and the American Federation of Labor.

23. The elevator inspectors were induced to join the unions of the elevator constructors of Milwaukee.

24. Garbage and ash collectors have been organized through the assistance of the administration.

25. This administration inaugurated a thorough and systematic factory inspection to insure steady improvement of sanitary conditions of labor.

26. Established a child welfare department to help in the problem of childhood through the teaching and assistance of mothers. Reports printed in all papers.

27. Established a tuberculosis commission to help the people in the fight against that dread disease.

Schenectady.

Under the heading "Facts for Voters," the campaign committee of the Socialist party of Schenectady published in its Campaign Book for 1913 a summary of the work of the Socialist administration for the previous twenty-one months, from which the following excerpts are taken:

Comprehensive park system planned and started.

Increased pay of unskilled labor from \$1.75 to \$2.25 for eight hours' work.

Established special lighting district, or Great White Way, on State street.

Closed all houses of prostitution in the city and kept them closed.

Closed all gambling houses where convictions could be secured.

Introduced free text books and free supplies for all grade schools.

Plans made and work started on complete readjustment of sewerage system.

Contract let and construction begun on sewage disposal plant.

Free municipal collection of garbage introduced to replace the old haphazard private collection system.

Inaugurated spring clean-up, when rubbish and filth of years were eliminated.

Increased pay of police through all grades, from chief to patrolman.

Pay of firemen increased, ranging from \$25 to \$100.

Reduced cost of repairing asphalt pavements from \$2.16 to \$1.15 per square yard.

Reduced cost of asphalt paving from \$2.20 per square yard, with grading extra, to \$1.50 per square yard, including concrete base, asphalt surface and grading.

Modernized and enlarged three schools in Ninth, Twelfth and thirteenth wards; built three new schools.

Work begun on municipal market buildings.

Increased pay of grade teachers and principals, and raised teachers' minimum salary from \$450 to \$500.

Established a dental clinic, where teeth of children are treated free.

Engaged a city chemist, whose activities have terrorized unscrupulous food adulterators.

Employed city food inspector to inspect bakeries, drug stores, candy shops, butcher shops, etc., and enforce pure food laws.

Adopted business methods in administration of city affairs, increasing efficiency.

Published for first time an intelligent municipal budget, rearranging departments in systematic order to show where every penny of city money is spent.

Introduced clinic for tubercular children in charge of experienced nurses and physicians.

Inaugurated municipal indoor band concerts during winter season, free to public.

Rigorously enforced union conditions on all contract jobs, and employment of only union men upon these jobs.

Passed and enforced ordinance requiring street car men to have 15 days' instruction before operating cars.

Established absolute secrecy in city civil service examinations and conducted 92 examinations in one year against six in last year of Democratic regime.

Added architects' branch to city engineer's office; all public work plans being drawn here, saving 5 per cent of every job in private architects' fees—\$25,000 saved in all.

Procured wide-awake, modern milk inspector, who has revolutionized the city's milk supply.

Babies' milk station established; free milk and free instructions given to poor families.

Created department of maternity and infancy nursing, decreasing infant illness and infant mortality.

Placed medical inspection of school children in hands of school authorities, and put city physicians in charge of indigent sick exclusively.

Handled 36,000 pieces of mail yearly through police department, thus saving postage.

Purchased five modern pieces of motor fire apparatus, and made Schenectady's fire department record second to none in state in point of efficiency.

Inspected every building in city as to fire precautions and had erected 134 fire escapes on public and private buildings.

Eliminated 700 outside privy vaults, for years a disgrace to any modern city.

Enacted anti-cocaine law that stopped sale of habit-forming debauching drugs.

Established central purchasing bureau that eliminated wasteful methods in vogue before, and thereby saved 30 per cent on purchase of supplies for city departments.

Enacted pure-food ordinance, and enforced it, to protect food from exposure to contamination. fined \$5,000.

Established a municipal farm where unemployed might find work and produce was raised for use at municipal grocery.

Passed housing code to compel landlords to provide sanitary and wholesome surroundings for tenants.

Increased number of municipal playgrounds from two to eleven.

Sold ice to thousands of families at 25 cents per 100 pounds, 15 cents less than regular dealers, till stopped by injunction.

Sold coal to thousands of families and not only cut out retail merchants' profits, but prevented local coal barons from raising price of coal to the exorbitant figure that surrounding cities were paying last winter.

Conducted municipal grocery store where groceries were retailed at cost till stopped by injunction.

Hamilton, Ohio.

A Socialist administration, with Fred A. Hinkel as mayor and a clear majority in the council, went into office in Hamilton, Ohio, on January 1, 1914. Within a year it could record a long list of radical changes for the benefit of the working class and the people generally. From the statement written by Mayor Hinkel and published in the *American Socialist* of March 20, 1915, the paragraphs on the following page are taken.

One of the first things done was to require an inventory of all the property owned by the city, a thing almost unheard of in Hamilton.

The police force was reduced about one-third and the expense of that department was cut nearly \$15,000 per year.

Streets, sidewalks and alleys that had been blockaded for years were all opened up to the public.

The blockading of crossings by the railroads has been practically eliminated.

Nearly 3,000 loads of rubbish that accumulated on lots and back yards was hauled away by the city.

A minimum wage of \$2.50 per day was established for employes of the city and an eight-hour day.

All railroad crossings have been rebuilt and put in good condition.

Special traffic policemen have been abolished, but the traffic rules have been enforced impartially.

Sanitary drinking fountains have been installed in the parks and at prominent street corners.

Delinquent bills for gas, water and electricity have been collected and no favorites known.

Passed a model pure food law and enforced it strictly.

The policy of issuing long time bonds has been abolished, and where bond issues are necessary they are now issued in serial form so that they can be paid for promptly, saving thousands of dollars in interest.

The ordinance requiring hucksters, peddlers and farmers to obtain a license to sell their goods in Hamilton has been repealed, opening the markets of Hamilton to all.

An inspection of the entire city for the removal of fire traps and conditions that would cause fires was made and the number of fires occurring in the city has been cut in two.

The main roads and streets leading out of Hamilton within the city limits were almost impassable. These have been regarded and put in excellent condition.

The regular police force is required to do the work of sanitary police and assist in the health department, saving sanitary police expense.

Great work has been done in the outdoor relief department through the director of public safety. Under former administrations the outdoor relief fund had been turned over in a lump sum to private organizations.

Commercialized vice which had existed openly and flauntingly during most of the history of the city of Hamilton was abolished by the Socialist administration.

The numbers of crimes and misdemeanors committed in the city are less by one-half than what they were in former years.

Butte, Mont.

In an article published in the *American Socialist* for March 20, 1915, Lewis J. Duncan, former mayor of Butte, gives the following summary and review of the Socialist administration in that city:

When the Socialist party came into power in the city of Butte, Mont., in the spring of 1911, it was on the crest of a wave of public nausea occasioned by the exposure of the negligence, inefficiency and reckless dishonesty and extravagance of former democratic and republican administrations. . . . The work in every department of the city had been neglected and apparently none but office holders had derived any benefit. Public service corporations and contractors had had things all their own way. The equipment of the city in tools and machinery was wretchedly inadequate. The police department was corrupt and the vice elements in the city were under little, if any, restraint.

The city's financial condition was notoriously bad. According to the special auditor's report, issued in March, 1911, the net indebtedness of the city in excess of the legal 3 per cent limit was \$157,995.21. After two years and eight months of Socialist administration the auditors showed the city's net indebtedness in excess of the legal 3 per cent limit to be only \$19,031.08—a gain on the indebtedness of nearly \$139,000 in less than three years.

During the four years of Socialist municipal service the city of Butte has acquired in special improvements in equipment, permanent and general, about \$200,000 worth of property and has replenished her sinking fund to the extent of \$393,000.

Since 1911, when the Socialist regime began and the city of Butte commenced to get a new spirit, the work of the engineering department has been remarkable. It is remarkable not only for the amount of public improvements carried on, but for the low costs of these improvements. And it is in no small measure due to the efficiency and the enterprise that have characterized this department during the period named, that the people of Butte have become proud of their city and have manifested an interest in making the city metropolitan in appearance and in beautifying and improving their residence and business properties.

Property owners, who had previously protested out all special improvements contemplated by the city, have given to the Socialist administration their hearty co-operation, "because," they said, "we know how and where every cent of our money will be expended."

The special improvements instituted and carried through by the Socialist municipal government have nearly doubled the value of the property of the small taxpayers; have given work to hundreds of men and instituted a period of prosperity (up to the time of the war panic last fall) unprecedented in the history of Butte.

However, the Socialists have more to show for their four years of power than mere commercial enterprise. Of greater consideration is the accomplishment in the matter of the health and morality of the community.

The health department of the city of Butte is the bright particular gem in the Socialist crown of glory. The work of this department alone has justified the Socialist administration of public affairs and its record is overwhelming evidence of the faithfulness and loyalty of its officers.

The matter of milk inspection in the city prior to the Socialist regime had been merely a grafting proposition. The dealers were in the habit of paying from five to twenty dollars a month for immunity from prosecution for selling milk below standard. Almost as bad was the condition in the butcher shops. Meat unfit for human consumption was being boldly sold over the counters. This has all been changed by vigilant inspection and the revocation of a few licenses of obdurate dealers.

The service of food inspection was extended, first by city ordinance and afterwards by state law, to cover all foods and places where food is prepared for public consumption—boarding houses, restaurants and hotels are subject to inspection of the sanitary officers, at any time of the day or night. Probably no other city in the country has cleaner kitchens than the city

of Butte. Also grocery stores, bakeries, green groceries, confectionery stores, ice cream parlors, in short, every place where eatables are sold, are scored monthly and the score is published in the Butte Socialist twice every month. The moral effect on the dealers is good, for it has established a rivalry between the merchants for high scores in cleanliness and neatness.

In addition to this food inspection, every house in the city limits is subject to inspection with respect to sewer service. The Socialists found a good many tenement houses and places rented to working people with no sewer facilities whatever. These were owned by wealthy people and non-resident property holders. They made the environment in the working class districts unwholesome to the last degree.

People all over the city were careless in the disposal of garbage. The streets and alleys were deplorably noisome and unhealthy and epidemics of contagious diseases were alarmingly recurrent. Slop water thrown out in alleys ran through the surface gutters, settled in pools and became stagnant. In barns and alleys and backyards, piles of manure were allowed to stand and rot for months at a time. All this has been changed.

The landlords proved to be the most difficult people to deal with. They would not clean their cesspools and were reluctant to make sewer connections and to put in toilet facilities. But a few prosecutions before the Socialist police judge and the imposition of stiff fines gradually had an educating effect on the landlords and most of these troubles rarely occur now.

The records of the health department make interesting comparison to the effect that the Socialist administration saves more lives every year than are lost by accident in the mines of the Amalgamated Copper Company.

Inside of two weeks after the Socialists were in charge of the city's affairs, the wine rooms were closed up tight and all the booths were taken out of the saloons. . . . The dance halls and all music were eliminated from the red light district and the liquor traffic was completely separated from the business. . . . Minors were forbidden to enter the district. The messenger boys were taken off those routes and all connections were removed. The service is done now by adult men only. . . . During this winter Butte has had a "bread line" for the first time in its history. The city has done all that it could do to help the unemployed men in the town. The street department worked two shifts of men and the city established a sort of "municipal lodging house," which housed between two and three thousand men during the month.

The effect of this sort of work is shown by the returns of the police court, which indicate a falling off of fines from \$2,000 to \$350 a month.

Berkeley, Cal.

In his article on "The Story of a Socialist Mayor," published in the *Western Comrade* for September, 1913, J. Stitt Wilson, mayor of Berkeley from July 1, 1911, to July 1, 1913, makes the following statement of his work and policy:

The important municipal improvements which shall mark my administration in Berkeley are as follows:

1. Municipal incinerator; 2, municipal garage and ambulance; 3, municipal laboratory; 4, municipal employment bureau; 5, perfection of the police flashlight system; 6, additional fire department; 7, new heating apparatus; 8, extensive street improvements; 9, spotless town campaigns; 10, new corporation yards; 11, passing sewer bonds.

As a matter of fact Berkeley has never had a "Socialist administration." There have been a Socialist mayor and one councilman in a board of five. The anti-Socialist majority worked harmoniously with us on general municipal matters, but stood pat for capitalism each time we presented a genuine Socialist proposition.

Had we had one more man on the council I believe Berkeley would have had by this time a municipal telephone, a municipal electric lighting plant, a municipal market and it would be standing out as a beacon light on the subject of taxation of land values. And before now a whole advanced program would be laid out to supplement the municipal labor bureau which we did get through, a program by which men would be employed, vacant land put under cultivation and value placed upon human beings, now the mere flotsam and jetsam in the labor market. . . . On each of these objects we set our hearts, and the Socialist local and comrades did their part nobly and well, especially on the municipal market. I gave months of special study to the matter of electric lighting and municipal telephone and personally prepared elaborate reports for the council. In all this work we constantly sowed the public mind with Socialist criticism of capitalism and constructive Socialist thought.

* * * * *

This was my sorrow as a Socialist mayor that I did not have enough support in the council to carry out our program. But the work done on behalf of these projects is solid and enduring and is bound to bear fruit; and our proposals will have to be eventually faced and undertaken. In the meantime we have done a greatly needed work in educating the people on the subject.

V.

A MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

BY ROBERT HUNTER.

The Socialist party is still in this country a minor party. It polls about one million votes as against the several millions polled by the other parties, but small as it is, with only the more intelligent workingmen to support it, it has already done more for the workingmen of this country than any other party.

In about twenty-eight different cities, which it has controlled, it has shown that a city can be run without graft. It has proved in Schenectady that ice and coal can be sold to the people at cost. It has shown there and elsewhere that when the city employs its own workmen at eight hours a day and union wages, improvements can be carried out at about half what the corrupt contractors charge.

The Socialists have done all that any other party can do and they have done it better, more efficiently and more economically than other parties. Everywhere the Socialists have given "good government." In fact, their work has been so much approved by the people that the republicans, the democrats and the progressives have had to combine against the Socialists in order to defeat them. In several cases even the combined efforts of all these parties could not defeat the Socialists.

Against all the hundreds of public officials elected by Socialists of the various states there has never yet been whispered the word "graft." In every case our opponents have had to admit that the Socialists were scrupulously honest.

Wherever the Socialists have been victorious it has been said that the town would be bankrupted, yet in no case has any Socialist city found it difficult to borrow money and nowhere has any Socialist town lost a single factory. . . .

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to picket and assemble and for everything that is really going to benefit the working people of the country.

These things are worth talking about, because the day is soon coming when workingmen the country over will need the aid of honest public officials and loyal comrades in office whose idea of politics is to serve honestly and efficiently the working class.*

*The American Socialist, March 20, 1915.

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